SUMMING UP THE HEARINGS: H. H. WILSON

THE Nation

July 3, 1954
20¢

Every American Should Go To Jail!

A MODEST PROPOSAL

For Pacifying the Public Temper

by ARTHUR MILLER

JUL 8 1954
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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Trial by Violence — *Fredric Wertham*

Russia's Rhine Maidens — *Carolus*

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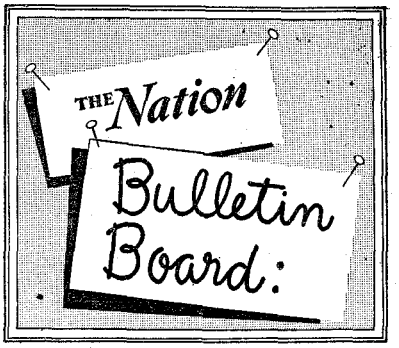

"LUSCIOUS red strawberry guavas, yellow guavas, and loquats grow wild and are free for the picking. Fresh garden vegetables are one cent a pound, also nice bananas. Oranges, the best we have ever seen, are seasonal and cost six cents a dozen. Watermelons, cantelopes, papayas, and avocados are cheap in their seasons. We have a year-round climate unsurpassed anywhere in the world—the temperatures ranging from 48 to 82 degrees."

Sound like Paradise? It's the nearest place to it, according to a letter just received from *Nation* subscriber R. E. Moore, who pulled up stakes two years ago and hied himself to Norfolk Island in the South Pacific. Norfolk, incidently, is the island where the mutineers of Bounty fame wound up and Mr. Moore says that some 50 per cent of the island's 1000 population are their descendants.

"There is much personal liberty here," Mr. Moore concludes, "and very little abuse of it. The freedom from McCarthyism and loyalty boards is wonderful."

Paradise indubitably!

THIS HAS BEEN an interesting week for philatelists on *The Nation's* staff. M. O. M. Maduagwu writes from Merchants College in Oba, Onitsha, Nigeria: "Yesterday in a friend's house I saw and read copies of *The Nation* sent to him by an American friend. It interested me because I am concerned with the fight for freedom and human rights. I could see that *The Nation* would always be at my service. That's why I want to become a regular reader."

And from Delhi, India, Satish Kumar Arora of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, writes: "It is now four years since I started reading *The Nation* (while attending Oberlin College) and I do not think I have missed any week of it. I sincerely believe there is a dire need of *The Nation* being circulated in India. Friends who are interested in the United States and world affairs and who saw copies were extremely impressed with it. They hardly believed there were periodicals like yours in the United States."

Closer home, Mrs. Hilda Lipkin of New York, who recently received a subscription to the magazine, said: "It helps keep my blood pressure down and my hopes up. You all write such sense that it's a comfort."

IT ALL BEGAN with a brief plug in this column for Eric Sander's "McCarthy for Führer" buttons. Seems the idea has really caught on. June 21 the San Francisco *Chronicle* ran a feature story on the nationwide growth of the campaign—particularly among college students, many of whom had seen the original announcement in *The Nation*. Now John Thomas of Los Angeles tells me that he gave a button to a woman college instructor he knew. "She passed it on to a gentleman who is administrative assistant to a top government official. He flew into Washington the same afternoon for a conference with the President. The President saw it and now he owns it.

"Since the President does not 'deal in personalities' he is probably not wearing the button openly," says Mr. Thomas. "But at least he must have it tucked away in a desk drawer ready for occasional furtive peeks."

THE DEMAND for copies of the Federation of American Scientists' Loyalty Committee report on the army-McCarthy situation at Fort Monmouth is steady. A limited number of these are available through *The Nation* and if you want one I urge you to act quickly. Just send 75 cents for your postpaid copy. It's a shocker.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

On Waldo Frank

[In publishing Waldo Frank's "Anti-Communist Peril" in our June 19 issue, we prophesied that it would provoke extensive controversy among our readers. The mails have proved us right, as the sampling below shows. We invite further comment on the important issues raised by Mr. Frank.]

Dear Sirs: Bravo to Waldo Frank for his clear and succinct analysis! This article should be read and debated by all. Not communism, not decadent reaction, but *man* is the issue today.

NATHAN L. SHAINBERG

Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Sirs: I have read with attention Waldo Frank's earnest and scholarly article, "Anti-Communist Peril," and found myself half-persuaded—until I took the time to think it over and realize its implications. He tells us, in substance, that there are two perils threatening the country, one of them communism and the other anti-communism, and it appears that he equates these two evils. To clear up his point of view I respectfully ask him to answer a few questions.

Communism is represented by the Soviet Union, which has seized nine countries of Central Europe and parts of two others and reduced them to satellite police-states by methods of terror and scientifically devised torture. Anti-communism is represented by the United States of America, which during the past half century has given freedom and democratic institutions to Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Japan. Does Waldo Frank equate these two opponents?

Communism armed the North Koreans and sent them forth to seize South Korea. Anti-communism resisted this invasion. Does Waldo Frank equate these two procedures? The same pattern is reproducing itself in Indo-China; the French have promised independence to these three states, and the Chinese Reds are ready with their "brain-washing." Are these two to be equated?

Communism is embodied for us by Malenkov, who has some fifteen millions of his political opponents in slave-labor camps and has murdered God alone knows how many more. The worst of anti-communism is typified to us by Senator McCarthy, who has lied recklessly about his political opponents, but has not been able to jail anybody, and has not murdered anybody so far as the record shows. Are these two to be equated?

UPTON SINCLAIR

Monrovia, California

Dear Sirs: The article by Waldo Frank in your June 19 issue is an attractive and courageous piece of rhetoric. Nevertheless, without disputing his criticisms, I wonder if he is not making the same kind of essential omission as those whom, as types, he has so effectively attacked.

Mr. Frank refers several times to "the Judaeo-Christian tradition." I do not know what his relation to this tradition is. It is worth pointing out, however—for others' benefit if not for his—that the only fact that gives final significance to this "tradition" is its insistence on the supremacy of God, whose creature and subject man is. Neither Judaism nor Christianity, as such, is an ethical system, to be made use of in isolation from its central assertion; any pretense that this is possible is glib sentimentality.

The defect which capitalism and communism share, at this time—and with them most types of socialism, and world

(Continued on page 19)

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Summing Up the Hearings . . *by H. H. Wilson*

McCarthy maxim: "One should start kicking at the other person as fast as possible below the belt until the other person is rendered helpless."

Prosecutor Jenkins: "If I became a candidate for the Senate in Tennessee and Senator McCarthy magnanimously tendered his services . . . I would say frankly as of this moment I would accept his offer."

NO one could have expected the McCarthy subcommittee to conduct hearings that could, or would, seriously attempt to resolve the questions of fact involved in the dispute between the Senator and the army. Apart from the inherent weaknesses of a Congressional committee attempting to perform a judicial function, the personnel of the subcommittee hardly compounded confidence in the probable outcome. The acting chairman, Senator Karl Mundt, and the other Republicans, Dirksen, Potter, and Dworshak, had rather clearly identified themselves as McCarthy disciples. McClellan, Symington, and Jackson, the Democrats on the subcommittee, constituted a moderately effective challenge to a complete whitewash, but they had no position of principled opposition to the witch hunt. This meant that they were constantly on the defensive and could only protest their equal devotion to "anti-communism."

As counsel the subcommittee selected an unbelievable Tennessee trial lawyer, a self-declared "Taft Republican" who lived up to what one would expect of a politically ambitious individual who had no public record of support or opposition to the Wisconsin Senator and whose personal qualities made him Senatorial material in the eyes of the discerning Everett Dirksen. Once rebuked by McCarthy for being too strenuous with G. David Schine, Jenkins subsequently toadied to Joe in the most obvious fashion. Throughout the hearings from the very first day, he served as straight man and sounding board for the peculiar McCarthy-Cohn interpretation of history.

Despite such inauspicious circumstances the hearings probably served to convince several million Americans that Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens and John G. Adams, army counsellor, reflecting Eisenhower policy, had gone to inordinate lengths to appease McCarthy and Cohn. Similarly there can be no doubt that McCarthy-Cohn used every conceivable pressure to win special consideration for their psychological-warfare expert, G. David Schine. Many will feel that Senator Charles E. Potter's suggestion for perjury prosecutions and the dismissal of employees on both sides of the dispute is too limited, but that it is at least a necessary beginning. Beyond this the hearings revealed, as Senator McClellan underscored in his summary, a weak, fumbling, ineffectual Executive which had tolerated or encouraged the most abject behavior on the part of the Secretary of the Army. Apparently advised that McCarthy could be useful in gaining votes for Republicans, President Eisenhower refused to display any leadership when it might have prevented this whole fiasco.

IT appears that Senator McCarthy has suffered a temporary setback in his drive for personal power. His arrogance, patent contempt for Administration leaders, fellow Senators, the law, and the Constitution seem at last to have registered even with members of the Eisenhower inner circle. He has succeeded in warning the most wilfully obtuse of his long-range intentions. He has antagonized those who for years tolerated his attacks on powerless individuals. It is indicative of the state of American democracy that official indignation was not sparked until he attacked a brigadier general. Now even those who thought to use him to disrupt the Democratic Party and to destroy popular attachment to the New Deal are fearful that they may not be able to check the Senator to their own purposes.

It is certainly a positive gain that in recent days a number of Republicans have finally, however temporary their virtue, found courage to attack McCarthy directly. In addition to Potter's proposal, Senator Flanders is sponsoring a resolution to deprive him of chairmanships. Allen Dulles condemned McCarthy charges against the C. I. A. as completely "false"; Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., attacked the McCarthy network of personal spies in government agencies; and President Eisenhower warned the United States against nameless "demagogues greedy for power."

While retaining a certain amount of skepticism regarding the meaning of the public-opinion polls, it is probably valid to conclude that a large number of those who once held "no opinion" have shifted over to the anti-McCarthy side. No one with an ounce of sensitivity

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could have failed to be revolted by the bully-boy tactics of the Senator.

Without minimizing the positive gains which have been made in crystallizing opposition to the ineffable Wisconsin Senator, these hearings can in no sense be interpreted as weakening the hold of McCarthyism, or anti-democracy, in the United States. In fact this phenomenon, characterized by irrationality, anti-intellectualism, contempt for law, and denial of the integrity of the human personality, has been revealed as the prevailing doctrine even among those nominally opposed to the Senator. Throughout the hearings it was apparent that all participants, including the counsel for both sides, had accepted McCarthy's premises and permitted him to define the meaning of communism, treason, subversion, and corruption. In this regard nothing more clearly reveals the pervasiveness of McCarthyism than the statement to Senator McCarthy by army counsel Joseph N. Welch: "You do good work. I admire the work you do when it succeeds." Not a voice was raised to protest the repeated attacks on individuals or organizations until counsel Welch countered McCarthy's gratuitous attack on his young law associate. It is a measure of our degradation that a man could become a national hero by condemning such "cruelty" while remaining silent about the maligning of loyal citizens who continue as members of the same legitimate professional group. Never has it been more apparent that one should diagnose the sickness of a sick society, not by taking the pulse of the political delinquents who attract the headlines, but by examining the condition of its "healthy" members.

Walter Lippmann has pertinently observed that McCarthy's "power will cease to grow and will diminish as and when, but only as and when, he is resisted, and it has been shown to our people that those to whom we look for leadership and to preserve our institutions are not afraid of him." The fact is, of course, that leaders of this society, in government and out, have long accepted the essence of McCarthyism. College presidents and heads of professional organizations have permitted the primitives to define the qualifications for membership in professional bodies. The army, presumably the immediate victim of McCarthy wrecking tactics, has itself taken over his standards and practices. If more evidence were needed to establish the acceptance of irrationality as a standard of conduct it has been provided by the Oppenheimer case.

It is unreasonable to criticize the American people for revealing confusion and doubt when so-called "good" leaders, anti-McCarthy spokesmen, concede the validity of his premises. Thus Senator Stuart Symington, aggressively hostile to Wisconsin's junior Senator, boasted that when he was Secretary of Air and when he was a private employer, the mere receipt of an F. B. I. report containing "unevaluated" derogatory information was suffi-

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cient to justify the immediate dismissal of an employee without benefit of hearing. No one protested the constant reiteration of the false McCarthy-Cohn-Carr charges of "espionage at Fort Monmouth." One waited in vain for a protest by "learned lawyers" at the use of the insidious phrase "Fifth Amendment Communists," or the implication of guilt to Owen Lattimore, though great care was taken not to impugn the integrity and patriotic devotion of McCarthy's bunkomen.

Whatever their spokesmen may conclude as a result of the investigation of the army-McCarthy dispute, the American people have not only been warned, they have for weeks looked at the faces and observed the behavior of those who seek to destroy the institutions and undermine the philosophy of a free society. From this day on no one of the millions of witnesses can plead ignorance if they persist in supporting fascism in this country.

Leading from Strength

WHILE no formal statement had come from the White House it was evident as the week began that every effort was being made to knit up the raveled fabric of British-American understanding. The journey to Washington of Britain's present and future Prime Ministers itself testified to both the widening rift and the desire to heal it.

However, understanding is one thing and agreement is another. The differences between London and Washington are not the sort to be talked out of existence over a week-end. The important point to note is that the British leaders came not to accept a ready-made plan for an East Asia defense pact, as the State Department had so prematurely claimed, but to explain why from their point of view Asian defense must be linked to a broad policy of conciliation and non-aggression pacts with the Communist powers. Before they left London Mr. Eden had taken the precaution of stating this position in Parliament and demonstrating the overwhelming support it had among the British people, and in the opposition as well as in the government party. In a word, what Sir Winston and Mr. Eden came to say was that Britain could not be committed to a course that might lead to war and almost certainly would wreck the Commonwealth in Asia.

Meanwhile in New Delhi Messrs. Chou En-lai and Jawaharlal Nehru were providing the counterpoint to this theme. At the very least the meeting between the Indian and Chinese leaders was an announcement that Nehru could be counted out of any American-made NATO in East Asia. At the same time France's bold new Premier, Pierre Mendès-France, was contributing to the almost global offensive against Washington's Far Eastern policy by hastening the negotiations for a compromise settlement in Indo-China.

In sum, the Administration is suffering a series of jolting diplomatic defeats. The day is passed when Uncle Sam could regard the rest of mankind from the vantage point of the world's greatest heap of industrial power, an A-bomb in one hand and an H-bomb in the other, and assume an allegiance based primarily on economic need. Differences between America and its allies have come up in the past and been dispelled at least superficially by thunder out of Washington. The reason this is not happening today is to be found in the growing economic strength—and thus the growing political independence—of the European nations. No longer is Britain or France in the role of pensioner of the United States. They can disagree and expect their views to carry weight in Washington. This, we think, is one of the most hopeful facts in this extremely difficult hour.

WAR AGAINST THE U.N.

The Guatemala Chapter . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

United Nations, June 28

AT this writing it is not certain whether the unexpected resignation of Guatemala's President, Jacob Arbenz, will prove a victory for the United States and for the rebel forces under Castillo Armas, or merely for the army junta which forced the President out of office. It is not even clear whether the development marks the end of the tragi-comic *sitzkrieg* situation or the beginning of real fighting. Until Arbenz was obliged to step down the rebels' talkative leader, despite the formidable strength attributed to him, had been able to report only one military development indisputably in his favor—the appointing of himself as a general. Therefore whatever pressures prompted the army junta to turn upon Arbenz, the fear of military defeat at the hands of the rebels was not among them.

The true nature of the pressures at work are perhaps better explainable by the diplomatic and political developments which occurred in the forty-eight hours preceding Arbenz's resignation. Under the leadership of the United States delegation, the Security Council divested itself of any immediate official interest in Guatemala's fate. Instead the Inter-American Peace Committee, which naturally has no Soviet member, dispatched a commission to investigate Guatemala's charges of aggression against Honduras and Nicaragua. Simul-

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taneously, and even more significantly, the United States and nine other American republics called a meeting of the foreign ministers of the twenty-one-member Organization of American States to be held on July 7. Thus United States diplomacy took care of all contingencies. If the war against Guatemala's progressive regime could not be won on the battlefield, preparations were made to achieve the victory through the anti-Communist machinery set up by the Caracas resolution.

PRIOR to last Friday's meeting of the Security Council, Lodge had accused the Guatemalan delegation of playing the Soviet game to the point where "many persons will wonder whether the whole imbroglio in Guatemala was not cooked up precisely for the purpose of making propaganda here in the United Nations." This is an astonishing statement from the representative of the United States, which has itself not been immune from charges of doing some "cooking up." In this connection James Reston's column in the New York *Times* of June 20 made interesting reading. Wrote Mr. Reston:

> John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State, seldom intervenes in the internal affairs of other countries, but his brother Allen is more enterprising.
>
> If somebody wants to start a revolution against the Communists in, say, Guatemala, it is no good talking to Foster Dulles. But Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, is a more active man.
>
> He has been watching the Guatemalan situation for a long time.

Mr. Reston went on to point out that the success of the rebellion would depend upon the loyalty shown to Arbenz by the Guatemalan army. But one wonders whether the "defection" of Colonel Enrique Diaz, Chief of Staff, and certain of his fellow officers, constituted quite what Mr. Allen Dulles was anticipating. Immediately upon Arbenz's resignation, the Colonel expressed the nation's gratitude to him and pledged that the gains made by the country under his regime, as well as those under the regime of his liberal predecessor, Arevalo, would not be lost.

Ambassador Lodge did his very best during last Friday's Security Council meeting to encourage suspicious people to read between the lines of what Mr. Reston had written. It was a painful meeting at which the authority and the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations was held up to contempt. The previous Sunday the Council, after long wrangling, had finally voted for a cease-fire. Last Friday it met to consider a justified demand by the Guatemalans for action to enforce the cease-fire. It refused even to consider the proposal, barring the Guatemalan representative from the Council table even while the capital of his country was being bombed. The representatives of New Zealand and Denmark—two nations which could not by the wildest stretch of the imagination be accused of playing Russia's game—maintained that "the Council should not 'abdicate' its position of supreme authority for the maintenance of international peace and security." But the Council did abdicate. Only four members—the two mentioned plus Lebanon and the Soviet Union—voted to support Guatemala and the rights and the prestige of the United Nations. Great Britain and France abstained. Voting against Guatemala were the United States, Nationalist China, Colombia, Brazil, and Turkey.

The damage done to the U. N. by this vote was indeed great; no clever dialectics will be able to conceal it. Now that the Security Council has refused to take action in the case of a very real aggression against Guatemala, suppose some nation now demands an extraordinary session of the General Assembly to deal with the imaginary threat to Thailand? Could cynicism go farther?

From the political angle the dominant note was the intensity of the reaction abroad. The Uruguayan, Argentinian, and Chilean parliaments approved pro-Arbenz resolutions; in Ecuador a movement began to recruit volunteers to defend Guatemala; in Argentina, Cuba, and Mexico students demonstrated for the Arbenz government, the demonstration in Mexico being led by the son of former President Lázaro Cardenas. From England our correspondent writes that "the London *Daily Worker* was probably not indulging in exaggeration, for a change, when it reported that on Sunday, June 20, their newspapers vendors were well received when they carried posters with the headline: 'Guatemala Fights Back Against Yankee Imperialism!'" *The Observer* of London disapproved of the manner in which the United States described the Guatemalan regime as "Communist." Wrote its Latin American expert:

> Though there is strong Communist influence in the Guatemalan Administration. . . . Guatemala is by no means a Communist state nor is its elected government composed of Communists. The Arbenz regime has initiated no such Marxist policies as, for instance, Dr. Jagan tried to introduce into British Guiana, and the Communists themselves do not consider Dr. Arbenz to be one of them.

Perhaps the ease with which the State Department flings the word "Communist" around should be included as an element in that "reappraisal" of American foreign policy which has received so much publicity. "It is time," wrote the *Manchester Guardian* of the Guatemalan crisis, "that the British Government politely tell Mr. Dulles that we do not trust his judgment as to whether a state is untouchable or not." In the eyes of many of Washington's critics the basic issue of opposing communism with an effective democratic policy has been hopelessly confused by the United States tendency to denounce as pro-Communist any government or individual who has not fallen prey to the anti-Communist hysteria. The question is of tremendous importance. Western Europeans, who live a good deal closer to the heart of Communist power than the 700 miles which separate little Guatemala from the Panama Canal, think it absurd that the United States should consider the tiny country a threat. And so long as Washington continues to be frightened of bogies, it is said, neither Western Europeans nor Asians will take seriously the American attempt to mobilize them in an anti-Communist crusade.

THERE is apparently no realization in this country that it is the aggressive pursuit of ideological warfare which makes the United States suspect in Asian eyes. Some critics want to know how America can condemn China for selling arms to the Vietminh when American-supported states are helping to mount an invasion of a legally recognized government. To such a question Secretary Dulles could presumably answer: "We are not in principle opposed to the overthrow of legally constituted governments. We are only against it when the overthrowers are Communists." But people abroad follow a different kind of logic.

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by ARTHUR MILLER

A Modest Proposal For Pacification of the Public Temper

THERE being in existence at the present time a universally held belief in the probability of treasonous actions;

And at the same time no certain method of obtaining final assurance in the faithfulness of any citizen toward his country, now that outright Treason, dallying with the Enemy, and other forms of public and private perfidy have been abundantly demonstrated in and among persons even of the highest office;

I herewith submit a Proposal for the Pacification of the Public Temper, and the Institution among the People of Mutual Faith and Confidence;

Having clearly in mind the Damages, both financial and Spiritual, which have already accrued due to the spread of Suspicion among Citizens, the said Proposal follows, namely:

The Proposal

1. That upon arriving at his eighteenth (18th) birthday, and every second year thereafter so long as he lives, providing said day does not fall upon a Sunday or nationally proclaimed Legal Holiday, in which case performance shall take place on the first regular day of business following, every Citizen of the United States of America shall present himself at the office of the United States Marshal nearest his place of residence;

Duties of Marshal

1. That said Marshal shall immediately place the Citizen under what is hereby officially described and determined as Patriotic Arrest or National Detention, which shall in every way conform to regular and ordinary incarceration in the prison, jail, or other Federal Detention Facility normally used in that locality;

Duties of Incarcerated Citizen

1. That without undue delay the citizen shall be informed that he may avail himself of all subpoena powers of the Government in order to secure for himself all documents, papers, manifolds, records, recorded tapes or discs, witnesses and/or other paraphernalia which he requires to prove his Absolute and steady Allegiance to this Country, its Government, Army and Navy, Congress, and the Structure, Aims, and History of its Institutions;

2. That upon assembling such documents and/or witnesses in support, he shall be brought before a Judge of the United States Court of Clearance, which Court to be established herewith;

Duties of Judge in Court of Clearance

1. That said Judge shall hear all of the defendant's witnesses and examine faithfully all evidence submitted;

2. That said Judge shall, if he deems it necessary, call upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation to refute or corroborate any or all claims submitted by the Citizen in defense of his Loyalty;

3. That if said proofs then be found invalid, untruthful, immaterial, irrelevant, or inconclusive, the Citizen shall be so notified and may thereupon at his option demand a Second Hearing meanwhile being consigned by Warrant and Seal of said Judge within one of the three Classifications hereunder described as Class CT, Class AT, or Class U.

Classifications

Classification CT (Class CT)

1. Classification or Class CT shall be deemed to signify Conceptual Traitor;

Classification CT (Class CT) Defined

1. Class CT signifying Conceptual Traitor is herewith defined as including, but not exclusively,

a. Any person otherwise of good character, without police record of felony, who has been adjudged at his or her Clearance Trial and/or Second Hearing as having engaged in Conversations, talks, public or private meetings, lectures, visits, or communications the nature of which is not illegal but on the other hand not Positively Conducive to the Defense of the Nation against the Enemy;

b. Any person who, on evidence submitted by the F. B. I., or in the Absence of Evidence to the Contrary, has shown himself to have actually expressed concepts, parts of concepts, or complete ideas or sentiments Inimical to the Defense of the Nation against the Enemy;

c. Persons who have not actually expressed such concepts in whole or part, but have demonstrated a receptivity to such concepts as expressed by others;

d. Persons who have neither expressed themselves, nor shown a receptivity to expressions by others of concepts or sentiments Inimical to the Defense of the Nation against the Enemy, but on the other hand have failed to demonstrate a lively, visible, or audible resentment against such concepts or sen-

Author's Nightmare

Arthur Miller, author of the Pulitzer Prize play "Death of a Salesman" and last year's "The Crucible," which won the Antoinnette Perry and Donaldson Awards, wrote us in connection with A Modest Proposal: "I have only one fear about it. I hope it is printed as a literary effort before it actually becomes a law; and if it is enacted, I pray I will not be given credit. My satires have a way of coming to pass. . . ."

Last week we announced that A Modest Proposal would appear in our July 10 issue. In deference to the author's fears we advanced the date of publication one week.

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timents as orally expressed or written by others;

All the above described, but not exclusively, shall be classified Conceptual Traitors by the duly constituted Court of Clearance.

Classification AT (Class AT)

1. Classification or Class AT shall be deemed to signify Action Traitor;

Classification AT (Class AT) Defined

1. Class AT signifying Action Traitor is herewith defined as including, but not exclusively,

a. Any person who has been proved to have actually attended meetings of any group, organization, incorporated or unincorporated body, secretly or publicly, whose title is to be found upon the Attorney General's list of proscribed organizations;

b. Any person who has committed any of the acts attributable to Conceptual Traitor as above defined, but in addition, and within hearing of at least one witness, has spoken in praise of such groups or affiliates or members thereof, or of non-members who have themselves spoken in praise of said groups or organizations so listed;

c. Any and all persons not falling under the categories above described who nevertheless have been summoned to testify before any Committee of Congress and have failed to testify to the Expressed Satisfaction of said Committee or any two members thereof in quorum constituted;

Penalties

1. Penalties shall be laid upon those classified as Conceptual Traitors, as follows, namely:

a. The Judge of the Court of Clearance shall cause to be issued Identity Card CT. Upon all correspondence written by said Class CT Citizen the words Conceptual Traitor or the letters CT shall be prominently displayed in print or in ink; as well upon any and all books, articles, pamphlets or announcements whatsoever written by said Citizen; as well, any appearance on radio, television, theatrical or other public medium by said Citizen shall be preceded by the clearly spoken announcement of his Classification; and in addition his calling or business cards shall be so marked as well as any other cards, (Christmas, birthday, New Year's, etc., but not exclusively), which he may mail to anyone beyond his own family so connected by blood;

b. Any organization or person employing said citizen with or without remuneration in money or kind, shall, upon agreeing to such employment, apply to the Federal Bureau of Clearance, to be established herewith, for a Conceptual Traitor Employment Permit;

c. It shall be an infraction of this Act to refuse employment to a citizen Classified as Conceptual Traitor, or to discriminate against said Citizen for having been so Classified, and the employer, upon receiving his Conceptual Traitor's Employment Permit, shall cause to be imprinted upon all his stationery, vouchers, public circulars, and advertisements, the following words or legend—"We Employ A Conceptual Traitor"—or the initials, "WECT."

Release of Incarcerated CT's

1. Conceptual Traitors, upon being duly classified by the Court of Clearance, shall be instantly released and guaranteed all the rights and privileges of American Citizenship as defined in the Constitution of the United States.

a. No Conceptual Traitor duly classified shall be detained in jail or prison more than forty-eight hours (48) beyond the time of his Classification;

b. No person awaiting Classification shall be detained more than one year, (1 year).

Penalties for Action Traitors

1. Persons classified Action Traitors shall be fined two thousand dollars and sentenced to serve not more than eight (8) years in a Federal House of Detention, nor less than five years, (5 years).

Unclassified Persons

1. Persons who are neither Classified as Action Traitor nor Conceptual Traitor shall be classified as Unclassified, or "U."

Unclassified Persons Defined

1. Unclassified persons, (U), shall be defined, although not exclusively, as those persons who are:

a. Unable to speak or understand the English language or any language for which an accredited Interpreter can be found, or can be reasonably thought to exist within the Continental United States or its Territories, Possessions, or Territories held in Trust;

b. Able to speak the English language or any of the languages for which an Interpreter may be found, but unable to understand the English language or any of the languages for which an Interpreter may be found;

c. Committed to institutions for the Insane or Homes for the Aged and Infirm;

d. Accredited members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation;

e. Accredited members of any Investigating Committee of the Congress of the United States;

f. Officers of the United States Chamber of Commerce;

g. Persons who are able to read, write, and understand the English language but have not registered their names in any Public Library as Lenders or Borrowers; and persons who have been registered as Borrowers in Public Libraries, but whose cards have never been stamped;

h. Listless persons, or persons who cannot keep their minds attentive to the questions asked by the Judge of the Court of Clearance;

i. All Veterans of the War Between the States;

j. All citizens who have Contributed to the Walter Winchell Damon Runyon Cancer Fund or who have been favorably mentioned in the newspaper column written by Ed Sullivan;

k. Most children, providing;

That none of the entities above mentioned be constituted as exclusive; and that no abridgment is made of the right of Congress to lengthen or shorten any of the defining qualifications of any of the above categories.

Release of Unclassified Persons (Class U)

1. All Unclassified Persons shall be instantly released, but with the proviso that any and all Unclassified Persons may be recalled for Classification.

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Possible Objections to This Proposal

The author of the above proposal, or Act, is well aware of certain objections which are bound to be made. All argument will inevitably reduce itself to the question of Civil Liberties.

The author wishes to state that, as will soon become apparent, it is only his devotion to Civil Liberties which has prompted creation of this Proposal, and in order to Enlighten those who on these grounds feel a reservation about this Proposal, he states quite simply the most vital argument against it which is that it sends absolutely everybody to jail.

This, unfortunately, is true. However, the corollary to this objection, namely, that this is exactly what the Russians do, is emphatically not true. I insist that no Russian goes to jail excepting under duress, force, and unwillingly; hence, he loses his liberty. But under this Act the American Presents himself to the prison officials, which is a different thing entirely. Moreover, he Presents himself without loss of liberty, his most precious possession, because he Presents himself with Love in his Heart, with the burning desire to Prove to all his fellow-citizens that he Is an American and is eager to let everybody know every action of his Life and its Patriotic Significance. It may as well be said that if an American boy is good enough to fight he is good enough to go to jail for the peace of mind of his Country.

The author can easily Visualize that going to the local Marshal for his Patriotic Arrest will soon become a kind of Proud Initiation for the Young American. He can Visualize the growth among the Citizens of Coming Out Parties when the young member of the family is released, and there is no doubt that the national Radio and Television Networks will do their best to popularize this form of Patriotic Thanksgiving, and the entire process of Waiting, Classification, and ultimate Deliverance will eventually become a hallowed Ritual without which no young man or woman would feel Complete and At Ease. It is, after all, nothing more than the Winning of Citizenship, something we who were given the blessing of American Birth have come to take for granted.

I would go even farther and say that the psychological significance of Arrest is beneficial. At the age of eighteen, or thereabouts, a person is just getting out of his adolescence, a period marked by strong feelings of guilt due to Pimples and so forth. This guilt, or Pimples, leads many an individual of that age to feelings of high idealism at which point he is amazed to discover the presence of Evil in the world. In turn, the recognition of Evil is likely to cause him to scoff at the Pretensions of the Older Generation, his parents and teachers, who in his new and emotional opinion have Failed to make a decent world for him. He is then wide open to the Propaganda of the Enemy.

It is at this very moment, when his spiritual pores, so to speak, are open, that under this Act he is sent immediately to Jail, and then through a Court of Clearance, to which institution he may Open his Heart. Under this Act, in short, every American over the age of eighteen (18) is automatically regarded as technically and momentarily Guilty. This, of course, represents no profound novelty, but instead of making it possible for only Traitors to Be Discovered, as at present, under this Act everyone will have the opportunity of being, so to speak, Discovered, but as a Patriot, which after all is what most Americans are.

The simple and pervasive Logic of this proposal will be completely evident if one reflects on the fact that in almost every other sphere of human activity the Society does in fact "clear" and give its stamp of Approval beforehand rather than afterwards; in most states we have to renew our dog licenses every year, and no dog with, for instance, rabies, is entitled to a license; we inspect cattle, motorists, buildings, railroads, elevators, sprinkler systems, teachers, and fish markets, for instance; nor do we wait until any of these have caused damage to the community. On the contrary, you have no need of suspecting an elevator, for instance, upon entering it because you know that it has been cleared, in effect, Before you

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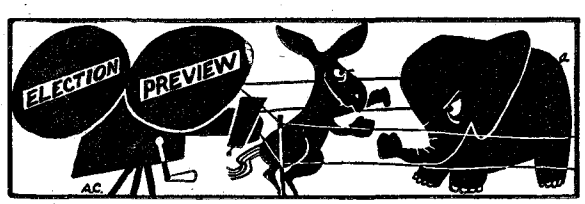
arrived and you may therefore repose in it your utmost Confidence, nor do you take a Driver's Test after you have killed a pedestrian, you take it Before.

It is necessary to imagine, or Project, as the psychologists say, the National Situation as it will be after this Act is operative.

a. When walking down the street, buying in a store, waiting for a street car or bus, getting gas, buying stocks, Meeting Someone hitherto unknown, answering the doorbell, listening to a lecture, seeing a movie or Television Show, the Citizen will automatically know where everybody around him Stands. A sense of Confidence and Mutual Trust will once more flow into the Land. The Citizen will need have no fear of reading anything, attending any meeting, or being introduced to anyone; instead of an atmosphere of innuendo, suspicion, aborted conversations and low vocal tones, we shall have a situation in which you know and I know that you were in jail and I was in jail and that we are therefore good Americans, and if there was anything Wrong one of us, or both of us, would not be out here talking like this. That is, by and large.

Aside from avowed enemies there are, unfortunately, Patriotic people who will unquestionably be found in opposition to this Act. Mothers, for instance, may shudder at the idea of sending their boys to Jail. But they will quickly see that a short stay in Jail will be the Hallmark of every Good American.

To sum up, then, it can be said that the current sensations of Confusion, Ferment, Distrust, and Suspicion are obviously not being dissolved by any present methods of Investigation and Exposure. A Permanent, Regular, and Uniform Clearance Procedure is vitally necessary, therefore. Everyone knows that a Man is Innocent until proved Guilty. All this Act is meant to provide is a means for securing that proof. God Forbid the day when in America a man is guilty without Proof. Once it was a Land that millions of Americans were trekking thousands of miles to find; later it was Gold; recently Uranium has been sought for at great effort and expense. But it is fair to say that with our characteristic energy we are devoting more time, more concentrated effort, and more Patriotic Concern with discovering Proof than any other material in our Nation's History. Now, in a dignified manner, in a Regularized and profoundly American manner, we shall all have it.



OREGON UPSET?

by Douglas McKean

Portland, Oregon

OREGON'S campaign for United States Senator this year has important national implications. Guy Cordon, the Republican incumbent, faces stiff competition from Richard L. Neuberger, a Democratic state senator who is seeking national office for the first time. The race will provide a major test for the Administration's power policy. At stake will be the prestige of Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay, who comes from Oregon, and quite possibly the all-important balance of power in the United States Senate.

For the first time in many years Oregon Democrats believe they can win and are throwing everything into the campaign. Neuberger is a forceful candidate who, by virtue of his writings in many national publications, is known far beyond the borders of his home state. His success or failure will be noted to a far greater degree than is usual with a newcomer to a major political arena. To understand Oregon's own exceptional interest in the campaign, it must be remembered that the state was one of three throughout the country which failed to elect either a Democratic or third-party Senator while Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House. Oregon has not elected a Democratic Senator since 1914.

Strangely enough, Guy Cordon, Republican stalwart, was born in the predominantly Democratic state of Texas and received his first important political appointment in Oregon from a Democratic governor, Walter Pierce. Apparently none of the Texas Democratic environment rubbed off on Cordon but some of the drawl did. Although the Cordon family moved to Southern Oregon when Guy was still in knee pants, his speech still retains some of the slow accents of the South. Tall, grey-haired, and angular, the 64-year-old Senator talks to his constituents in a folksy vein typical of one whose roots are deep in the sod of the Oregon country. He grew up in the town of Roseburg and immediately after graduation from high school in 1916 became a deputy county assessor. He did his stint in World War I and followed this with a fling at the real-estate business while he was completing his law studies. He was admitted to the bar in 1920 and in 1923 came his first major political appointment—the district attorneyship of his county, bestowed upon him by Democratic Governor Walter Pierce. He served in this post until 1935. Ten years of private law practice followed and then in 1944 Senator

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DOUGLAS MCKEAN is political editor of the Oregon Journal. *See page 16 of this issue for Mr. Neuberger's review of a new book on the Grand Coulee Dam by George Sundborg.*

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Charles McNary, who had represented Oregon since 1918, died and Cordon was appointed to his place. In the same year he won nomination and election with comparative ease and in 1948 defeated the late Manley Wilson, state senator and editor of the C.I.O. *Woodworkers,* by a 100,000 vote margin.

Neuberger, now 41, is a product of Portland, the state's largest city, and of the University of Oregon. Almost all of his adult life has been spent as a writer of books and newspaper and magazine articles. He served three years in the army in World War II and was aide to General James A. (Patsy) O'Connor, who constructed the Alaska military highway.

Cordon is a party man; Neuberger has always been something of a lone wolf. Cordon is the epitome of solid Republican conservatism, with a political philosophy probably closer to that of the late Senator Robert Taft than it is to that of President Eisenhower. He is not particularly impressive as a public speaker. Neuberger is a fighter for liberal causes, speaks as well as he writes, and likes nothing better than to take the floor, as he often has in the state senate, to cross swords with his opponents.

IT IS A rare occurrence in Oregon to find men of almost completely opposite political leanings running against each other at a time when issues are tailor-made to bring differences in their philosophies into sharp relief. Oregon has three basic assets—her forests, her agricultural lands, and the power of the Columbia river, a mighty stream potentially capable of producing 42 per cent of the nation's hydro-electricity. All three of these basic Oregon resources are affected by federal policy through the Department of Interior, headed by Douglas McKay, a former governor and a close supporter of Senator Cordon. The two men have worked hand-in-glove in developing the so-called "partnership" program for dam building which provides that local agencies, both public and private, should be brought into the water resources picture whenever possible. The federal government, so the theory goes, should intervene only when local agencies cannot do the job, both as a matter of principle and as a means of economizing on federal funds.

The most recent example of "partnership" planning is the $320,000,000 John Day dam on the Columbia river on the Oregon-Washington border. The plan was proposed by the Portland General Electric Company, one of Oregon's major private utilities, which presumably would be a major partner in the project. About 50 per cent of the cost of the dam would be allocated to power and this is the amount that would be provided locally. Private companies would have equal priority with utility districts, rural electrification cooperatives, and municipal systems on the

Drawing by Berger

Richard L. Neuberger

power produced. Under present laws the latter groups have first priority. The plan also provides that Oregon users would have priority in distribution of power over those of Washington.

Neuberger and Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Independent who bolted the Republican party, have attacked the plan as a scheme to wreck the preference system which made rural electrification possible. They say that the cost allocated to power should be nearer 90 per cent than 50 per cent and that the provision giving Oregon users priority will not only prevent proper regional development but will in the long run give the advantage to Washington, which has most of the remaining dam sites usable by the two states.

A major point of the Neuberger campaign will be an attack on Cordon's action in favor of state ownership of the off-shore oil lands and his opposition to the Hill amendment reserving funds from these oil resources for federal aid to education. Maurine Neuberger, wife of the Senate candidate and herself a member of the state house of representatives, is a former teacher and Neuberger has always had close associations with the education groups. Thus the oil-for-education issue is a good one for him but actually, from his standpoint, the issue is the same as that involved in the use of water resources—the "give-away" of a resource which belongs to all the people.

Cordon maintains that he, too, is a staunch supporter of federal aid to education and cites a Senate speech he made last year in which he declared that the early earmarking of certain sections of public lands for the benefit of education in newly admitted states was "one of the greatest forward steps ever taken by any nation . . ."

Differences in political philosophy which distinguish Republicans and Democrats at the national level will play an important role in the Oregon campaign. But there also will be local factors. There has been a tendency in Oregon to elect native sons more on a basis of personality and character than on issues; Oregonians believe that all native sons will want to do the "right thing" for the state. Secretary McKay, in a recent television appearance in Oregon, departed from his text to ask how some people could say the things they were saying about him when he came of ancestors who were pioneers of Oregon, when he had lived in Oregon all his life, made his fortune in Oregon, and when all he owns is in Oregon. His outrage was perfectly genuine. That anyone could question the integrity of his program as it affected his home state when he possessed such a background was beyond his understanding.

Neuberger backers count on several factors in their favor. The federal-power program of the past twenty years has been highly beneficial to the state and voters are expected to examine with care the untried "partnership" plan. Many new people have come to Oregon since the war and Democrats are convinced that they can be persuaded to look at issues as well as personalities. Senator Morse, who has been outspokenly op-

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posed to the Condon-Keys power policy, could in the end prove a key factor in a Democratic victory.

There is strong evidence that the fight will be a bitter one. A hint as to the extent to which feelings are being aroused is the publication by an upstate weekly of an editorial which spoke disparagingly of Neuberger's Jewish faith. Some upstate papers reprinted the editorial but it drew fire from others. The Eugene *Register Guard,* a Republican paper, said:

> The reference [to Neuberger's religion] was not a flattering one. That editorial was later picked up by the Cordon-For-Senator committee and distributed over the state.

That's unfortunate. If Neuberger is to be opposed because he's Jewish, the campaign between him and Guy Cordon next fall could become a messy one.

Only time will tell whether or not the campaign will become messy; in any case it is certain to agitate the Oregon political pot as no other has done for years. The primary election, held on May 21, failed to reveal any significant trend so far as the Neuberger-Cordon race is concerned. Both were unopposed and only in Multnomah county were there other contested races of sufficient interest to provide a yardstick of the relative popularity of the two men in their own party. In this county Cordon polled approximately 77 per cent of the vote cast in the Republican congressional race and Neuberger polled approximately 86 per cent of the vote in the Democratic congressional race. Obviously both men have strong party support.

When registrations closed prior to the primary Democrats led in only 13 of the state's 36 counties and the Republican overall edge was 16,140 out of a total registration of 785,285.

RUSSIA'S RHINE MAIDENS

Bonn Looks to the East . . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

FOR some years Adenauer's Germany has been viewed by the West as the most faithful of all allies in the crusade against Moscow. The conviction has almost acquired the certainty of dogma, especially in Washington. A spokesman for a group of American Senators visiting Bonn in June, 1953, told the West German parliamentarians: "Germany is our best friend. It is as dear and as close to us as any of the states which constitute the United States."

For some years, too, there has been no lack of warning against such optimism, founded as it is upon a complete misunderstanding of the German and European realities. The truth is that this West German state of fifty million people, despite Washington's tender solicitude and billions in aid, has always conducted and will continue to conduct a German and not an American policy. True, Bonn Germany is not Hitler's Germany, even if former Nazis and their sponsors lead an enjoyable life here, abetted by the American occupation policy. But this Germany on the banks of the Rhine and the Ruhr is not a new Germany; it is still the country of which

Drawing by Berger

Heinrich Bruening

Heine once said that he could not sleep at night for thinking of it.

History has yet to pass final judgment on the conservative authoritarian, the Rhenish Catholic, Dr. Adenauer. But this much is already certain: for all the undoubted strength of his personality and of his Western orientation, he is neither more nor less than a creature of the German "big" bourgeoisie, the instrument of those Rhenish and Ruhr industrialists who have brought so much misery to Germany and Europe by their expansionist policy. It was naive of Washington, therefore, to have become so excited over Adenauer's statement to German exporters at Hamburg a few weeks ago: "I think it possible that Moscow and Bonn may open diplomatic relations in the course of this year." A few days later the Chancellor, following a stormy interview with the United States High Commissioner Conant, changed his tune somewhat. Yet it may be taken for granted that his Hamburg bombshell was no sudden whim but reflected the demand for Eastern markets by the men who sponsor him.

The ensuing weeks proved the strength of this demand and the moderation with which the Chancellor had voiced it at Hamburg. Among the Bonn deputies is a former diplomat, Dr. Pfleiderer, who has risen from obscurity to become the foreign-policy expert of the Free Democrats, the second strongest party in the government coalition. Pfleiderer believes that Bismarck's policy of "reinsurance" treaties with Russia is still the only right policy for his country. He and his colleagues are convinced that the Soviet Union holds the key to Germany's unity and economic prosperity. For some years he has been in contact with Soviet High Commissioner Semyonov. Interpreting Adenauer's Ham-

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burg speech as a green light, he also publicly suggested the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia, adding that Moscow would shortly be visited by a group of Bonn deputies representing all parties and including himself. He, too, caused a tempest in Bonn political circles, but the Free Democratic Party and its parliamentary caucus unanimously approved both his policy and his concrete proposals. At the same time the party announced that it would sharply oppose Adenauer's Saar policy.

It is well to recall in this connection that Pfleiderer voted against E. D. C. and that his party now shares his views.

The strength, unity, and future of the Adenauer coalition are placed in doubt by these internal conflicts, a fact which accounts for the Chancellor's current violent reaction to the attacks upon his policy by his supposed political allies. The Free Democrats are the party of big business, with a not inconsiderable admixture of former Nazis and militarists. General Von Manteuffel, who served under Hitler, is a strong spokesman for the latter elements. Like Pfleiderer, he is opposed to E. D. C.; what he wants is a national army.

London Daily Mirror

Life or Death of a Salesman

ADENAUER'S electoral victory last September was all too hurriedly blown up into a vote for E. D. C., German rearmament, and a pro-Western foreign policy. The facts are not so simple. West Germany has a Catholic youth organization with a membership of one million. The majority of such members as could vote undoubtedly voted for Adenauer, if only on religious grounds. Yet according to *Die Wacht,* the organization's publication, 775 of 1,000 readers polled declared they would not volunteer for a German army. Dr. Niemoeller, a member of the Protestant Church Council, the highest authority of German Protestants, is conducting a strong campaign against rearmament on the ground that it would stand in the way of a German-Russian understanding. So, too, are Dr. Heinemann, Adenauer's former minister of the interior, who resigned on the rearmament issue, and Dr. Wirth, a South German Catholic who was a chancellor of the Weimar Republic.

Niemoeller, Heinemann, and Wirth are regarded as traitors by the Adenauer government. Now they have been joined by two other former German chancellors: Dr. Heinrich Bruening and Dr. Hans Luther. In 1933 Bruening left Germany for America, where he taught at Harvard until a couple of years ago. A Catholic and a conservative, he is now a professor at Cologne University. Early this month, speaking to a Duesseldorf industrialists' club, he opposed any one-sided linking of Germany to America and made a sensational plea for an Eastern Locarno with Russia. Such a policy, he declared, could alone prevent Germany from being victimized by an American economic depression. And in case of war, Dr. Bruening said, his plan would save Germany from being crushed by the overwhelming might of Russia.

The *Deutsche Kommentare* of Stuttgart, a conservative and nationalist periodical highly respected in intellectual and economic circles, wrote in its issue of March 22:

> Should it come to a world war, in which case the issue will be one of sheer survival, H-bombs will be dropped on both sides. . . . The duty of reexaminating the relations between East and West, a matter of universal concern, imposes itself also upon us. . . . *It is, in any case, in the interest of all Germans to lead the Federal Republic out of a situation where it is regarded as Moscow's Enemy Number One next to America.* Why should we burn our fingers in a conflict between two world powers? . . . It is impossible for Western man to be a friend of the Soviet system; but it is unnecessary and dangerous for him to become an out-and-out enemy of one of the two world powers.

These words speak not only for Bruening and Pfleiderer but for the entire German bourgeoisie. The continued Socialist opposition to E. D. C. and Adenauer's foreign policy is distinguished from the Bruening-Pfleiderer position only by its greater realism. The German Socialists put little hope in bilateral negotiations between Russia and Germany. They believe that only an understanding between America and Russia can restore German unity, maintain peace, and prevent World War III.

The West, looking upon these new developments in Germany, must feel somewhat like the hen who has sat on duck eggs and is horrified by the sight of her fledglings taking to water. Pfleiderer, Bruening, and even Adenauer himself in his Hamburg speech, are the consequences of that "policy of strength" which wrecked the Berlin conference. Yet to anyone familiar with modern politico-economic theory, the developments could have been foreseen.

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The West German Republic is no longer a sickly child under American protection. It has become a strong and independent state. Its industrial production today is 60 per cent above that of 1936. It exports twice as much machinery as before World War II and has overtaken England as an exporting country. It is supplying Greece, Yugoslavia, and the countries of the Middle East with goods and money. German goods are chasing Britain's from Europe and South America. The German position is so strong that the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Butler, visited Bonn last May to protest against German "dumping."

The Federal Republic's national income in 1953 was approximately thirty-four billion dollars; its foreign trade about nine billions. West German exports to China last year were ten times greater than in 1952, despite the embargo. No one can even attempt to estimate the value of West Germany's "black" industrial exports to Iron Curtain countries via Berlin, Switzerland, Holland, Italy, and other devious channels. For these exports Russia pays prices above the world market level—and in hard currency. Today West Germany has a credit surplus of about $750,000,000 with the Bank for International Payments; its Federal Reserve Bank has a surplus of more than two billion dollars. West German currency is as hard and stable as the Swiss; it is backed 90 per cent by gold and hard foreign currency.

A land of growing production which lacks raw materials is naturally increasingly interested in export markets. The countries of the industrial West present German exporters with insuperable barriers. It is all very well to talk about the "defense of Christian culture and Western civilization" but such slogans appeal only to the spiritual in man and not to his bank account. The relatively untouched markets of the vast East beckon to the Germans. Adenauer and the West, so West German industrialists argue, are useful to have around—at least until Germany has its own army. That is why Pfleiderer and his party, bowing to the Chancellor, decided not to send a delegation to Moscow for the time being. That is also why the Eastern Committee for German Industry at the last moment postponed a scheduled visit to Moscow of West German bankers, industrialists, and exporters. Sooner or later both visits are likely to take place.

Bonn has become a financial and economic power capable of standing on its own feet. The consequences will inevitably unfold themselves—the political consequences tomorrow, the military the day after. The Bruening-Pfleiderer incident shows which way the wind is blowing. The years of the Adenauer-State Department policy are numbered.

TRIAL BY VIOLENCE

Peril for the Innocent . . *by Fredric Wertham*

THE particularly shocking murder of a 14-year old girl recently captured the headlines in New York. Public indignation was at fever heat. The newspapers were having a field day ferreting out details and speculating on the mysterious minds of murderers. In some sections of the city, parents were escorting their children to and from school. A doctor who attended the victim in the hospital where she died gave out a statement saying that the staff was as "overwrought as the rest of New York citizenry over this treacherous crime."

Over the years I have seen quite a number of such waves of public indignation. Experienced newspapermen can predict almost to the day how long they will last. They rarely lead to anything constructive. And yet—among many other preventive measures—there is one simple step that could be taken. Nothing helps to activate the criminal impulse so much as the knowledge that innocent men may be persecuted and condemned. More than anything else, it helps to blunt the conscience of the would-be criminal. Recently I saw a children's comic book in which a man commits a murder and at the end of the story goes scot-free. He triumphs because an innocent man is so beaten in a police station that he confesses to a crime he did not commit. "That won't harm a child," I'm told, "because it is not real, it is just fiction and fantasy." Is it?

Early this year Thomas Mackell, an attorney, came to see me. He had been appointed, with two other lawyers, to defend a 21-year-old youth, Paul Pfeffer, on a charge of first degree murder for which the penalty is the electric chair. The victim, a 22-year-old navy pipefitter named Edward Bates, had been found dead last August, his skull broken by a blunt instrument. He had evidently been struck while in his parked automobile near a New York beach. Pfeffer's signed confession was practically the only evidence against him. There was no question of legal insanity involved; my task was to inquire into Pfeffer's state of mind at the time of the confession and to determine how voluntary the confession was.

The law is not very explicit about the admissability of psychiatric testimony under such circumstances. Books on psychiatry and law hardly refer to the issue. But I have seen several cases where such questions came up.

When I visited Pfeffer in prison late one afternoon his countenance was as somber as the surroundings. But he became more animated during the examination. Talking to a psychiatrist was nothing new to him. A typical example of New York's treatment of wayward youth, he had been shuttled by the courts between psychiatric hospitals, Youth House, the children's court, and the Bureau of Child Guidance. He had played hookey in school and had later

FREDRIC WERTHAM, noted psychiatrist and director of the Lafargue Clinic in New York, is the author of "Seduction of the Innocent" and other books.

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run away from home. All he got from psychiatry were routine examinations. There was never any treatment or guidance, which would have been indicated when he began to play hookey and did not learn to read. His father died when he was 14, his mother when he was 19. He was arrested once when he came upon his younger sister with a boy whom he threatened with a knife. The case was dismissed. Later he was accused of picking the right hip-pocket of a sailor—a charge dismissed on military sartorial grounds; sailors have no such pockets. At 19 he was arrested for passing false checks and sent to a reformatory. There he really learned to read for the first time and got a grammar school diploma.

AFTER he left the reformatory he was on parole and worked as a truck helper at $45.00 a week. He failed to report twice and was rearrested. Then the murder charge was laid against him.

I asked him about many details of his life and got the impression he was truthful. I tested his reading and found it very slow. That brought me to his confession of the Bates murder. I told him I did not see how he could have signed such a lengthy confession because it would have taken him so long to read it. His answer was that he had never read it. I asked him to repeat to me some of the sentences in the text; he could not do it. He then told me the circumstances under which he made the confession. He was questioned by three detectives from about 7:30 p.m. to 5 a.m. "They gave me a shellacking on my face and body." He said they squeezed his neck but what hurt him especially was when they continuously tried to influence his answers by twisting his wrists with a "twister," or manacles. They threatened him with a rubber hose which they showed him but did not use. He said his mouth was so cut up from the punching he received that he could not eat properly for days afterwards. During his questioning, he told me, the detectives kept repeating, "You know you did it!" Pfeffer said to me: "I couldn't take it any more. I felt nauseated and confused and miserable. I just couldn't take it." He said the "reenactment of the crime" took place in a space alongside the police station. "They opened the back of the car and said, 'Show me the lug wrench.' They said, 'that's the lug wrench you hit him with.' " Finally Pfeffer broke down and "confessed." It seemed to me that pain and the fear of more pain to come made him do so.

The confession itself is revealing. A confession, I understand, is a voluntary statement made by the accused in his own words and based on his own knowledge. But this six-page document consists to a considerable extent of questions put by the police to which the prisoner gives very brief affirmative replies. Many answers comprise the single word "yes." It is precisely in those parts of the document which refer to the most relevant and incriminating circumstances that the brief "yes" answers occur most often.

The whole picture became painfully clear. Pfeffer was no angel; but the more I learned from him and about him, and as I heard his testimony and that of other witnesses in court, the more I became convinced that he was beaten and frightened into his confession and was innocent of the crime charged. His girl friend, who swore to what seemed a firm alibi for the night of the murder, said that she saw the evidences of police brutality on his face.

In my testimony I said that Pfeffer's state of mind at the time was such that he could not have made a voluntary confession. What he did under duress was to give affirmative replies to questions containing statements that were not true. I called the questions *suggestive,* because they suggested the answer that was expected from him. I pointed out that there were questions in the purported confession which made one guilty however one answered. For example, when Pfeffer was asked, "Did you intend to hit him with it (the wrench)?" either a "yes" or "no" was incriminating. Pfeffer was asked, "When did you go over to the Buick to get the wrench?" even though he had never said that he had done so. In a most important part of the confession, dealing with premeditation, two answers are corrected in handwriting. It is clear from the context that the police made him insert these corrections to fit the answers to their pattern of the crime. It was like a hastily written and rehearsed play which had to be changed at the last moment to fit the director's conceptions.

There were some strange discrepancies and omissions in the case. The lug wrench—the alleged murder weapon—had no blood on it and was not chemically tested for blood. No money was found in the victim's wallet and yet nobody accused Pfeffer of having taken any. There were bloodstains on the victim's pants which were never explained. The medical examiner testified that Bates's skull showed the effect of fifteen to twenty blows; Pfeffer's confession states he hit him only "two or three times." According to the confession Pfeffer hit the man from the left side of the car, yet that window was found closed and the door locked.

The jury took its task seriously. But when its work began Pfeffer's trial—the trial by violence at the police station—was long over. The doubt raised in the jurors' minds by the doubt we raised about the confession barely saved Pfeffer from the electric chair. He was found guilty of second degree murder and sent to jail for twenty years to life. He is serving this sentence now.

TO me this case, like many others, was unfinished business. Here was a boy who could have been guided in his youth, who could have been taught to read outside a reformatory; a young man who despite his neglected education had actually taken correspondence courses from Cornell University and was trying to improve himself. At any rate, I was sure he was not guilty as charged.

Usually such unfinished business remains unfinished. But a few weeks ago John Francis Roche, who confessed to killing that 14-year old girl, confessed also to the murder of Edward Bates. *His* confession disposes of all discrepancies and supplies missing details which he could not possibly have known if he had not been at the scene of the slaying. He even knew that Bates's wallet contained traveller's checks. His story accounted for the bloodstains, too, and for the many fractures in Bates's skull. And he said that he stood on the right side of the car at the time of the attack, which fitted the condition of the car.

I have no doubt that the machinery of the law will be set in motion again and Paul Pfeffer will be freed. But what if Roche had not been arrested for another murder and confessed to this one? And what about the future defendants who will have their trials by violence in police stations?

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BOOKS

Two Men and Two Presidents

THE END OF INNOCENCE. By Jonathan Daniels. J. B. Lippincott Company. $5.

THE MAN BEHIND ROOSEVELT. By Lela Stiles. World Publishing Company. $4.75.

By Charles A. Madison

JONATHAN DANIELS calls his new work a "memory-ridden and emotion-torn" book. It is much more—a carefully documented presentation of men and events during a significant period in American history. In paying tender homage to his illustrious father he has made effective use not only of the latter's unpublished diaries and other primary and secondary sources but also of his own first-hand experiences as the alert adolescent son of the Secretary of the Navy and as the able assistant to two Presidents. His book thus evokes a decade in which we exchanged our democratic "innocence" for the questionable sophistication of world power.

Josephus Daniels is depicted as an old-fashioned but admirable American: a religious man of firm character and notable ability, a genuine democrat of political shrewdness, a pacifist who in time of necessity built up a navy second to none, a staid Southerner devoted to Jeffersonian ideals and the homely virtues. Because he in a sense functioned at the very center of the Wilson Administration, the story of his activities provides a fresh and impressive view of that period. The glimpses of President Wilson are scant but revealing; political performance is shown from the inside; a host of prominent Americans are etched with few but telling strokes.

The book gives a clear account of Josephus Daniels's career as Secretary of the Navy and stresses the fact that he was both an able and conscientious administrator. It was he who fought the Navy League to a standstill; it was he who succeeded in reducing the price of armor plate from $520 to $460 per ton; and it was he who thwarted proposed legislation which would have permitted the leasing of naval oil reserves for private exploitation. Jonathan Daniels is rightfully proud of his father's achievements.

Undoubtedly the most interesting part of the book pertains to the relationship between Josephus Daniels and his Assistant Secretary, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Superficially they appeared entirely unalike. The youthful and zestful Roosevelt was a debonair aristocrat, handsome and sociable, ambitious and hopeful. He considered himself more capable than he really was and often grumbled at presumed restraints. When war broke out in Europe in 1914 he thought it a tragedy that such innocents as Bryan and Daniels should be in posts of crucial importance. To his wife he boasted that he was getting things done for the navy while the Secretary was "bewildered by it all, very sweet but very sad." While he did his work well enough, he was not as indispensable as he believed.

Nevertheless, Daniels liked him despite the occasional strains and stresses. In the intimacy of their official relationship he taught him some basic truths both by precept and example. Among other things, Roosevelt learned from him that "keeping faith is the essence of fidelity to democracy." He thus came to appreciate his simple-spoken chief. "To the young aristocrat," the author comments, "there had been about Daniels almost the same deceptive appearance which a plain, strong, democratic American so often showed to the supercilious who suddenly confronted it in history. Roosevelt's greatest attainment when he departed was that he was no longer self-deceived in democracy—and would not be so deceived again."

The story of Louis Howe provided a remarkable example of concentration and perseverance. Of gnomic appearance, sickly and cantankerous, Howe was a capable reporter with political proclivities and an acute sense of frustration. It grieved him to realize that his physical handicaps were condemning him to a life of routine mediocrity. He was of this state of mind when he first met Franklin D. Roosevelt, the new state senator from Dutchess County, at the 1911 legislative session in Albany. It was not long before he perceived that this buoyant young man was blessed with everything that he himself lacked. The more he observed him in action the stronger became his hunch that Roosevelt was definitely of Presidential caliber. Acting on this belief, he dedicated himself to the advancement of the young man's career. And the latter accepted this devotion gracefully, even gratefully. When he became sick with typhoid fever at the outset of the 1912 campaign, he readily placed the success of his reelection in Howe's competent hands. Also, when Roosevelt went to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Navy he took Howe with him as a matter of course.

Howe's most important contribution to the furtherance of Roosevelt's career came after the latter was stricken with polio in 1921. The invalid's mother and most of his friends accepted the tragedy as final and assumed that he would make the best of it as a country gentleman in a wheelchair. Not so Howe. He stubbornly insisted that Roosevelt's future remained unimpaired and that he did not need his legs to become President. With Eleanor Roosevelt's cooperation he made himself a member of the household and persisted in encouraging the patient and in keeping him fully informed of political developments. For years he worked tenaciously, intelligently, heroically to make his dream come true. He helped Roosevelt to adjust to his fate and to accept the challenge.

Miss Stiles describes fully and vividly the process leading to final victory in 1932. She makes clear Howe's large share in Roosevelt's triumph over his illness and as a candidate; she rightly stresses his ability to keep Roosevelt on an even political keel. In her effort to bring out Howe's qualities as a political mentor, however, she tends to overlook the crucial fact that his success was made possible only because Roosevelt possessed the attributes of greatness.

CHARLES A. MADISON, author of "Critics and Crusaders" and "American Labor Leaders," is completing a book on twentieth-century liberalism to be entitled "Dynamic Democracy."

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Quaker Oats

THE WORLD IN THE EVENING. By Christopher Isherwood. Random House. $3.50.

By Isaac Rosenfeld

IN "The World in the Evening" Christopher Isherwood tries to go beyond "The Berlin Stories" and "Prater Violet" by giving full character to his observer and keeping him in the center of the action, but he largely makes a mess of it. The frame of this *Rahmenerzählung*, the present action in which the story of Stephen Monk is set, is surely the worst piece of writing he has ever published, incredibly slick and stale; and the themes—frustrated love and Quaker mysticism—refuse to hold the connection he tries to establish between them and keep falling into an unintended one. It is only in the narrative of Stephen Monk's past life, his two marriages, his homosexual experience, and his relationship to the elderly Quaker, Aunt Sarah—these flashbacks do make up about two-thirds of the novel—that Isherwood is again an admirable writer, in possession of his right style. But only the style is right; the novel itself might as well have been a case history, for all that Isherwood was able to do with it.

The point of Stephen Monk's story is that he has found no satisfaction or fulfillment in love. In his marriage to the English writer, Elizabeth Rydal, twelve years his senior, he is a dependent child, secretary, and, when her health fails, nurse. He imagines himself happy and deeply in love, but when he is seduced by the homosexual, Michael Drummond, he is forced to see the completely selfish and dependent character of his relationship to his wife. In his homosexual affair he has, apparently, his first experience of passion, though he is incapable of returning Michael's love; and some time later, when Elizabeth is dying, he has another encounter with sexual passion in an affair with an American girl, Jane Armstrong. He marries her after Elizabeth's death, but it is a vile marriage, again he cannot love, and it is wrecked in Hollywood by infidelities at cocktail parties. The present action begins with Monk's discovery of Jane in flagrant delight; he runs out on her and takes the first plane to Aunt Sarah in the East. Embarrassed by her solicitude, he is about to resume his flight when he has his thigh broken in a providential accident with a truck and gets ten weeks in a cast to think things over. While immobilized, he sorts out Elizabeth's letters and prepares them for publication—these letters, in their approximation of feminine sensibility, are clearly the best writing in the novel—and in so doing, relives his life with her and recognizes his mistakes. He comes out of the cast convinced he is a new man and that he will make a new beginning in life.

Granted that the point of Monk's life-story is his incapacity for love, the familiar psychic dualism of the Oedipus complex, etc., but the mere presentation is not fiction. Monk's recognition of the split in his own nature must either be expressed in the highest terms of perception, to become itself a healing passion, or the author's perception of his hero's case, if the latter lacks insight, must rise to the same level. But neither Isherwood nor his character gets terribly excited over this. Monk is not shown in desperate isolation as was, say, the narrator of "Prater Violet"; his dark night is no more than insomnia with the remedy at hand.

Just where his "new beginning" will take him Isherwood doesn't say, but Monk is clearly in safe transition to the case-worker's *paradiso* of "maturity." There's a God in heaven or a nostrum in the closet to take care of his needs. The nostrum turns out to be "It"—the silence that speaks at Quaker meetings, ego and Atman joined, the metaphysical ground of the universe that looks out at him through Aunt Sarah's eyes.

Now this is not fiction, it is a sowing of Quaker oats. If the method of the novel consisted in reducing the "old" Stephen Monk to his erotic failures, why stop now? Has he really become a new man, or is he to be called new because the old reductive treatment will no longer be applied to him? If he failed to achieve the ordinary satisfactions of love through the sexual embrace, what chance has he of attaining the extraordinary ones? And has it been demonstrated, through his story, that only the mystical illumination is the true goal of love, and that all things fail which fall short? It seems to me, rather, the other way round—what has been shown through Stephen's case is not the necessity, but the sexual pathology, of "It."

ISAAC ROSENFELD is an editor of the new publishing firm, McCosh and Sherman.

In Defense of Reason

PAST AND FUTURE. By William H. McNeill. University of Chicago Press. $3.75.

By Bert James Lowenberg

"Past and Future" is an important book. And its importance derives from a number of reasons. It deals with the most vital question now confronting mankind—the fate of civilization. This alone would hardly make it noteworthy, for almost everybody in one way or another has undertaken to diagnose the rise and fall of civilizations, including our own. Unlike most scholars who have attempted to analyze these issues, Mr. McNeill does not find doom around every planetary corner. If not exuberant, he is at least unimpressed by loose arguments for impending disaster.

McNeill is a teacher of history at the University of Chicago. Historians are common enough in these specialist days. But historians who study the past in order to project the course of future events, to define social processes, and to create hypotheses are rare indeed. Mr. McNeill writes with the tentativeness of ripe scholarship. He is temperate, judicious, and persuasive. One does not have to accept all his conclusions. One can, however, explore further with the aid of his hypotheses. And those who believe

BERT JAMES LOWENBERG, co-author of "The United States: American Democracy in World Perspective" and "The Making of American Democracy," is professor of American history at Sarah Laurence College.

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that history can ultimately become a meaningful and creative social science cannot fail to be inspired.

McNeill has submitted a spirited and ample brief in defense of reason. He believes in the power of knowledge and the uses of wisdom. But he is no uncritical devotee. Rather, with Spinoza, he is a believer in the principle that the final test of sanity lies in the distinction between the possible and the impossible. Reason is an instrument developed by man. With the aid of reason man fashioned the world, and with the continuing uses of reason he can salvage democracy or destroy it. The reading of this book will not guarantee our salvation, but it will give courage to those who believe deeply that, however slender, reason is still the only hope.

Baron Munchausen's Dam

HAIL COLUMBIA! The Thirty-Year Struggle for Grand Coulee Dam. By George Sundborg. The Macmillan Company. $5.75.

By Richard L. Neuberger

IN 1919 a lean Irishman named James O'Sullivan, who had been a school teacher, a homesteader, and a building contractor, began crusading for a huge dam across the Columbia River which would be the greatest structure ever erected by man. He had the assistance of several small-town cronies and of the ebullient Rufus Woods, editor of the struggling little Wenatchee *Daily World*. These obscure citizens in the sagebrush hinterland of the state of Washington foresaw a project that could generate more electricity than had ever been produced in one plant and that would pump water for the world's biggest irrigation undertaking—making 1,200,000 arid desert acres yield row crops, alfalfa, and flowering orchards.

Derision greeted this proposal. "Baron Munchausen, thou wert a piker!" exclaimed a prominent judge. Metropolitan dailies in the Pacific Northwest predicted that the power from Grand Coulee Dam could not be used for many generations. Furthermore, the Washington Water Power Company wanted for its own the Kettle Falls site, 117 miles upstream. Development of Kettle Falls by the company would rule out a high dam at Grand Coulee, backing up water in a vast 151-mile-long artificial lake.

For nearly a quarter of a century the region was rocked by a grim political battle over Grand Coulee. The utilities poured a fortune into the struggle. Their allies in Congress called the project "a white elephant," or worse. The *Yakima Republic* warned: "Already the electric industry of the state is overinstalled." O'Sullivan and corporation lawyers argued the question before Congressional committees. Funds for O'Sullivan's work came from folks like Tillie Abelson, who ran the bakery in Ephrata, who put up $5 a month. Jim felt guilty when he spent $3.50 for taxis during a whole week in Washington.

Jim O'Sullivan died in Spokane on February 15, 1949. He was seventy-three. The great dam had stood athwart the Columbia for nine years. A lesser companion project, built to impound water for irrigation, had been named "O'Sullivan Dam" at a colorful ceremony.

No one derided now. Long since, every one of Grand Coulee's 2,160,000 kilowatts had been utilized. The country could only wish for more such projects. The energy made possible the Hanford plutonium works, where atomic energy underwent its final processing. Before the dam was constructed not an ounce of aluminum had been made in the state of Washington. By the time Jim O'Sullivan died, Washington led all the states in aluminum production. Ex-G. I.'s and their families had settled on homesteads wrested from the sagebrush with the help of water from Grand Coulee. Factory pay rolls in the Northwest had increased 329 per cent, as a result of low-cost power. The region had experienced a prodigious 40 per cent population gain during a single decade.

Yet, reports Mr. Sundborg in a fascinating and fast-moving book, Grand Coulee had been denounced as unsound by "the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the American Forestry Association, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Society of Agricultural Engineers."

George Sundborg, a former resident of the Northwest who now edits the Juneau *Independent* in the capital of Alaska, began nine years ago to write this monumental story of the heroic effort to secure construction of the immense Grand Coulee Dam. Mr. Sundborg could not possibly have had in mind then the striking parallel between the Grand Coulee struggle and that now centering on the proposed Hell's Canyon project, which was yet to start. But the situations are almost identical. The sponsors of Hell's Canyon have had more than their share of ridicule and abuse. They have had difficulty raising $30,000, while the Idaho Power Company, eager to grab the site, has spent more than $600,000 in promoting its claims. Some of the same newspapers which predicted no market for power from Grand Coulee are shameless enough to print similar "prophecies" regarding energy from a federal dam at Hell's Canyon. The present foes of Hell's Canyon—Secretary of the Interior McKay, Senator Cordon of Oregon, Governor Langlie of Washington—use language that reminds one of warnings uttered by the political foes of Grand Coulee.

If enough copies of "Hail Columbia!" could be distributed throughout the land between now and November, 1954, the people would unquestionably vote for advocates of Hell's Canyon this year. If the cause of Hell's Canyon had a replica of Jim O'Sullivan, the fighting Irishman of Grand Coulee, that might be done. Jim would find the money, somehow, as he did when the utilities seemed about to make off with the finest damsite in North America. If only Jim were still around, to hang on to the next-finest damsite for the people of his beloved Northwest!

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Oregon state senator, is now running for the United States Senate. He is co-author of "Integrity. The Life of George W. Norris" and author of "Our Promised Land."

COMING

THE STRATEGY FOR THE WEST

by Sir John Slessor

Reviewed by Mark Watson

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New Books in Brief

Disciple of Proust

THE CHARM OF HOURS. By Peter Skelton. Morrow. $4.

Readers of Proust will find much of interest in this first novel by Peter Skelton. There is the same feeling for nuance, tone, and color, the same long and convoluted sentences speckled with fragile descriptions, the same self-analysis and self-recall. Proust, however, is one artist who cannot be followed too closely without calling up unfortunate comparisons, and Skelton follows him closely indeed.

On the very first page we meet a narrator attempting to recapture his own past in a small summer village (Zarmdorn, Holland, in the year 1939). We see him as an aesthetic and introverted boy whose imagination plays on shadows, sounds, odors, nature, villagers, and himself. Nothing much actually happens; the narrator's own moods and observations are described in pin-point detail and "sensitive" prose.

Skelton's writing, however, is unable to bear the burden of so static a narrative. In the method of leisurely recall, the most essential—as the only dynamic—element is perception and language. These are only sporadically impressive in "The Charm of Hours," and there is little in the way of plot or action to carry the book along. Essentially "The Charm of Hours" is a nineteenth-century work, but without the keen insight into character and society which Proust possessed for all his mannerisms.

Saved by the Wise

THE MAGICIANS. By J. B. Priestley. Harper. $3.

Mr. Priestley's parable concerns one Charles Ravenstreet who at fifty-five is displaced by the managerial revolution and turned out of his business with a mere £200,000 tax free. Since Sir Charles is a widower in good health, not unattractive to women, and—the author tells us—with some taste for literature, painting, and music, one might reasonably expect him to enjoy his half-million dollars in fine style. Contrarily he finds life dull, pointless, a slow decline into the welcoming grave. A vivacious woman throws herself at him; getting into bed with her seems hardly worth the effort. He succumbs to the business offer of an industrial peer, even though the enterprise is thoroughly vicious, simply because it gives him an opportunity to exercise his organizing talents.

At this point in his downward progression he meets the three magicians or philosophers who talk at some length about the "old wisdom," and who discern some merit or hope in the woeful knight. They demonstrate to him that time is an illusion, that the past is "alive." Sir Charles, bettered and purified, washes his hands of the evil lord, and is rewarded by the discovery of a bastard son of whose existence he was unaware and a complete set of grandchildren.

The parable is not too clear, but the magicians themselves offer some amusement to the reader.

Two Novellas

THE GOOSE ON THE GRAVE. By John Hawkes. New Directions. $3.

The work of John Hawkes shows some of the advantages and, unfortunately, a great many of the disadvantages to be found in determinedly baroque fiction. His most recent book—two novellas entitled "The Owl" and "The Goose on the Grave"—is filled with fascinating stage effects and little else.

"The Owl" is a brooding, chiaroscuro prose poem set in a medieval city and filtered through the mind of the city's hangman, of whom the owl, bird of prey rather than wisdom, is the symbol. There is a great deal of religious symbolism in the story—a preordained prisoner (also a Christ figure), a nightmarish last supper with the "twelve old men," a deity of darkness and unmercy (the hangman himself), crucifixion symbols, guilt and fertility figures, and a final benediction of death.

Hawkes employs rhythms reminiscent of Kafka, more ornate perhaps, but maintaining the simple declarative treatment, with added metaphors, of bizarre and surrealist events. As in Kafka's "The Country Doctor" the effect is one of dream and timelessness; we are never sure what is actually real, or what exists only in the darkness of the narrator's mind.

In "The Goose on the Grave," an opaque tale of a war orphan in search of his mother, Hawkes uses external narration. By disrupting time sequence and point of view, however, he avoids contaminating his fiction with traditional plot development.

Throughout both novellas, Hawkes self-consciously imbeds symbols and images into his prose, where they remain jewel-like but separate and unblending. There is also a consistent preoccupation with surrealist atmosphere. Hawkes's people are gargoyles or dream images, vivid but lacking sufficient basis in humanity.

High Artistry

NOT HEAVEN. By Waldo Frank. Hermitage House. $3.50.

The surest way any one person can form a judgment about a book is to reread it. When Frank's latest novel—his twelfth—was in proof sheets I read it and recognized in it real originality, great depth, and maturity. Now I have reread it, and I realize I did not see the half of it.

The intellectual worth of "Not Heaven"—the scientifically exact psychology, the acute perception of social and economic influences, the philosophic mind behind it all, the superb wit—is easily perceived. What is harder to see—but visible on rereading—is its high artistry, for this is an artistry out of

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space and time. Indeed, space and time play a part only in the Prelude to the book; in the rest they revert to the insignificance of dimension or any other measurement.

A piece of artistic writing can be true only if some of the statements in it are, out of context, not true. The combining of literal truths with literal truths produces a scientific description, but nothing more. The combining of untruths with untruths produces nonsense. The combining of untruths with truths to communicate an untruth is the pathetic fallacy. It it only when untruths and truths are combined to make an otherwise inexpressible truth that art results.

What "Not Heaven" says is sayable only in "Not Heaven," but what it is about is the human soul—an expression which Frank avoids even in his nonfiction because it has connotations that are less profound and less definite than what he is talking about. He prefers to adopt the vocabulary of Spinoza and call the ego-free individual who recognizes equally his smallness in the universe and the effectiveness of God—or good, or a sense of the whole--within him, a Person. The characters in "Not Heaven" are tried: one becomes a Person wholly and unites literally with Karma; some come close; many fail. The act of becoming a Person is thereby revealed in a way that it could not be revealed by any other combination of words than those in the book.

In "Not Heaven" Frank shows his skill as a story-teller as he has never shown it before. And beneath the fascinating and amusing and occasionally mystifying reflections of the surface, one cannot avoid seeing the big fish down deep.

Theater

Harold Clurman

IN A WAY John Gassner has done himself a disservice by having made himself known to that part of the theater-going public which reads about the theater as an anthologist and historian. His latest book "The Theatre in in Our Times" (Crown Publishers, $5) reveals Gassner as something more than a "scholar"; he is an excellent critic.

We need such a critic in the world of the American theater. I say this neither to puff him nor to disparage other critics, but to make a point in regard to his particular contribution. The American theater critic is not only an impressionist in method but because of the nature of our journalism and the nervous taste of its readers is virtually forced into becoming a kind of entertainer, a sort of literary glamor boy. Gassner is never a bright guesser, a self-infatuated phrase-monger, or a ballyhoo expert. His aim is to make sound evaluations on the premises of clearly defined standards and reasoned analyses.

He is not only sober, but forbearing. No writer or actor need fear that he will make him a target or victim. Gassner's manner is always self-effacing, respectful, and, best of all, attentive. When he sees a play he does not think primarily of what he is going to say about it or believe the play was expressly made so that he might voice his opinion of it.

This does not mean that he is the type of professor-critic who is balanced because he never moves for the simple reason that he's not trying to get anywhere. Underneath the rather copious gray garment of his prose, Gassner takes strong positions, affirms and defends opinions which are by no means routine either on Broadway or in the colleges.

In his preface to "The Theatre in Our Times," Gassner enunciates a credo: "—the American stage," he says, "is most vital when closest to American sensibility and interest, whatever their shortcomings, but the European enterprise in theater provides a necessary perspective and corrective. I also believe that realism and contemporary interest alone can give us a living theater, but that realism should not limit us to realistic technique or style while contemporary interest should not limit us to commonplace or topical matters and attitudes."

This sounds reasonable, but it is not, as some might suspect, tame. For what Gassner in the succeeding essays manages to do is to champion the vigorous germination of our young American drama as against certain more civilized and mature continental products which are frequently clever and brittle imitations of past literary modes rather than truly felt reflections of European life. Thus without minimizing the gross defects easily perceptible in their work, Gassner utters a heartening yea to the impulses and achievements of O'Neill, Odets, Williams, Miller among others, and a cordial but quizzical nay to the pretentions of a Cocteau as well as those Gassner, with learned wit, calls epigones in religion and poetic drama—for example, T. S. Eliot.

These opinions do not spring from any esthetic, political, or national partisanship. Gassner speaks with admiration and understanding of Bertolt Brecht whose great talent—essentially poetic, despite its didactic orientation—is so different from that of the Americans. If Gassner recognizes the sweeping power of Sean O'Casey and prizes it above the refinement of certain more shapely dramatists it is not because Gassner espouses emotion for its own sake. He realizes the value of a certain detachment and irony in drama and praises a number of French playwrights who possess this quality. If Gassner tends to favor specific reality and contemporaneity as well as national and even local color as against abstruse mythical and "universal" inspiration—in short if he esteems the concrete above the abstract—it is because as a matter of fact the most substantial and stirring plays of our time—Ibsen, Strindberg, Chekhov, Shaw—have issued from the stimulus of immediate rather than recorded reality.

Thus Gassner is able to make a case for modern drama (including, without apology, the American) even though it has produced no Shakespeare or Racine—dramatists who may appear to contradict his thesis. But what about "high" tragedy, the dicta of Aristotle, Matthew Arnold, and all that? Gassner is, if you like, on the side of the "barbarians": those who are the source and carriers of that living substance which makes art matter. One doesn't grow great by worshipping giants. Beaumarchais, Gassner tells us, once wrote "Only *little* men are afraid of *little* writings." Gassner knows these things, and his "Theatre in Our Times" is that rare thing in dramatic criticism, a comprehensive book.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

OUTSTANDING among records I have heard recently is the one issued by Concert Hall with Beethoven's Bagatelles for piano played by Grant Johannesen—the two dated 1797, the seven of Op. 33, the eleven of Op. 119, and the six of Op. 126. It is the two late sets that make this record important: they offer remarkable examples of Beethoven's late writing for the piano, with its introspective remoteness and occasional strangeness, its concentrated brevity, its abrupt shifts of thought, feeling, and style—remarkable because of the reduction in scale in these pieces that makes for greater concentration, brevity, and abruptness. Perhaps the most extraordinary of all, in these respects, is No. 7 of Op. 119, which begins with quiet strangeness, and then, like the final variation of the Sonata Op. 109, begins to pick up momentum in what becomes a wild acceleration to an abrupt fortissimo conclusion. And the record is important also because of Johannesen's masterful pacing and shaping of the pieces and treatment of the instrument.

A Period record has given me my first hearing of Prokofiev's Piano Concerto No. 1 (1911), which turns out to be another of those astonishing first works of his, characteristic both in its intricate and percussive figuration and in its lyrical writing, and with a freshness and creative energy that make it far more impressive and enjoyable than the two later works on the record, the Piano Sonata No. 5 (1925) and Piano Concerto No. 5 (1932). The Concerto No. 1, which is in one long movement, is played superbly by a Russian pianist named Richter with the Moscow Symphony under Kondrashin.

Having reported a few months ago on the beautiful Oiseau-Lyre performance of Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610, I think I should mention a Period record which offers an astonishingly different but equally beautiful performance of three sections of the work and a different Magnificat, by singers and instrumentalists under Ephrikian. This is some of the early music that was not completely written out like the music of the last two centuries, but that instead presented performers with the bare outlines which they had to elaborate into melody, harmony, rhythm, and figuration in the current language and style of the period; and the two performances give us strikingly different—and, it seemed to ears more expert than mine in this matter, equally valid—realizations of the work from the vocal and bass parts. The Oiseau-Lyre performance offers higher-pitched, delicate singing with robust orchestral ritornellos; the Period lower-pitched, robust, intense singing with delicate, fine-textured orchestral ritornellos. In the Oiseau-Lyre *Nigra sum* the continuo is supplied by the harpsichord; in the Period by organ and strings. In the Oiseau-Lyre *Ave maris stella* the stanzas are sung by the soloists in succession with organ; in the Period all are sung by the contralto.

The Haydn Society is issuing the Anthologie sonore recordings on LP; and a record of motets by Mozart (AS-34) offers a number of pieces dated from 1775 to 1782—all new to me, some engagingly buoyant, some quietly lovely, some poignant and moving. The performances are by unnamed soloists and chorus and orchestra of L'Anthologie sonore under Félix Raugel; and I must report choral singing with no refinement of tone and texture, and a solo contralto whose voice is rough.

Musorgsky's powers applied to the texts of "The Nursery" produce results which for once leave me uninvolved. The songs are sung with the necessary dramatic imagination and animation by Maria Kurenko, to equally fine piano accompaniments by Vsevolod Pastukhoff. On the same Capitol record are some songs of Rachmaninov.

Debussy's music for the children's ballet "La Boîte à joujoux," as orchestrated by André Caplet, is played beautifully on a Remington record by the RIAS Symphony of Berlin under Jonel Perlea; but I find that its point-to-point invention for the ballet is not a coherent and satisfying experience when heard alone or with a description of the action.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

federalism, and universal birth control, and the rest of the social patent medicines—is one of perception. It is their heretical humanism, their supposition that man is supreme, capable of knowing and achieving his own good, individually and collectively, without reference to God. . . . Ironically, the effect of this misperception, the humanist denial of God, is the dehumanization of social life to which Mr. Frank bears witness.

One does not, I think, suggest that our difficulties can be corrected simply by our "return" to God, that is, to a more comprehensive awareness of the human situation than is now active. But without that awareness, and the sense of man's high position in the world and of his absolute subjection to the love of God, which that awareness includes, our efforts to help ourselves are wasted and without basis. Perhaps this was the drift of Mr. Frank's remarks. If so, allow me simply to add my support to them.

Cos Cob, Connecticut ROBERT D. MEAD

Dear Sirs: In seven or eight years of reading *The Nation,* "The Anti-Communist Peril" by Waldo Frank is the first really fresh piece of writing and thinking I can recall. If these views are not the underlying principles of *The Nation,* though I realize that no one set of principles can be said to underly so varied a group of writers, if this article has not clearly summed up the general editorial philosophy of *The Nation,* then I have been misinterpreting the less forthright tones of the magazine.

It would seem to me . . . that there can be only those who believe in man and those who do not. Mr. Frank is one who believes. I hope that those editors who offer Joseph Wood Krutch's "The Measure of Man" as a book club selection in the same issue in which they print Waldo Frank's article also believe.

Monterey, Cal. GENE MORNELL

Dear Sirs: Waldo Frank uses too many words to say too little clearly. American popular reaction to the Communist peril stems largely from a national political immaturity rooted in a woeful lack of understanding of the basic principles of American democracy. Eventually, through education, we may become sufficiently mature to follow England's example where Sir Oswald Mosley's Fascists meet in public and strut their black shirts and where the Communist Party advertises and holds public meetings unmolested. No one denies their right to do so. England believes in democracy. It trusts its people's over-all good sense and feels safe in practicing what it believes in.

Do we really believe in the democracy we boast? ARTHUR B. HEWSON

Chicago, Ill.

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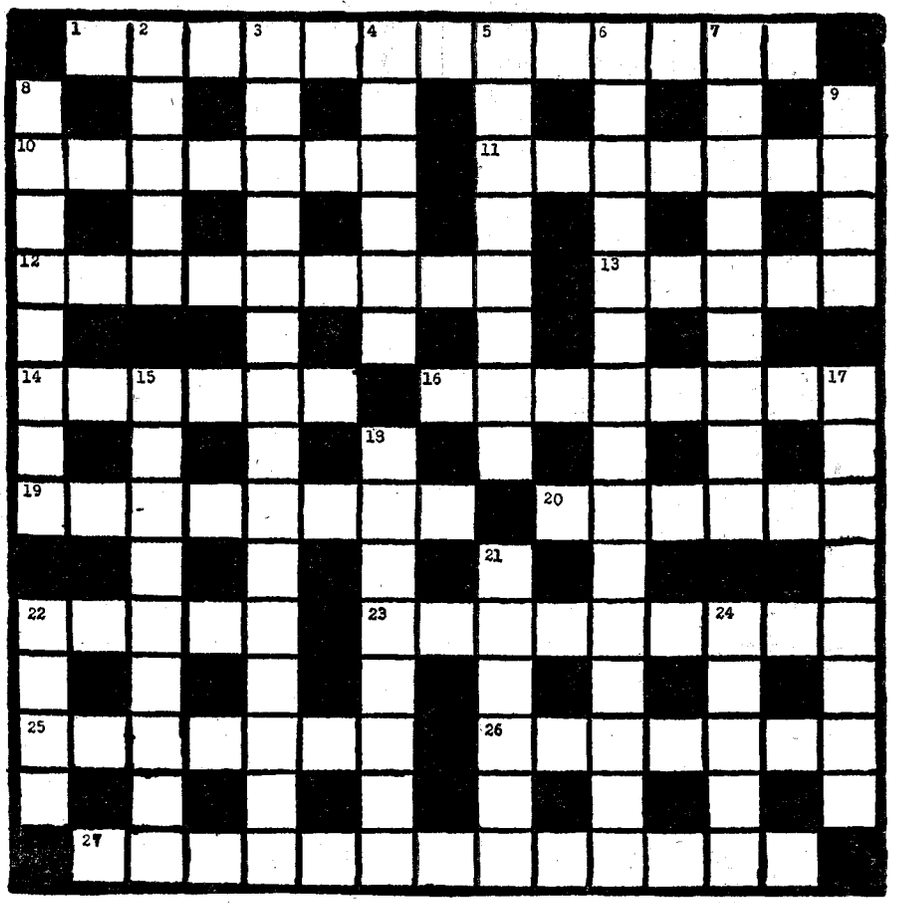

ACROSS

1 The first part of 11 shouldn't have this chance. (9, 4)
10 This sometimes doesn't appear to be quick. (7)
11 Experienced before 6, therefore in condition. (7)
12 See 21 down.
13 Weapon, alternatively for defense. (5)
14 Drives back a little less than a Pullman on the return trip. (6)
16 The result of investigation of tools. (8)
19 An almost standard arrangement is longer in what the melody is reputed to do. (6, 2)
20 Changes, as does port. (6)
22 and 9 down. Love it at tea-time, perhaps? One might! (5, 4)
23 If it isn't, the hearing's impaired, nowadays! (9)
25 Not necessarily a logical part for Miss Shearer. (7)
26 In short, non-progressive craft in Harry's state should carry just about everything! (7)
27 If his effort is wasted, would one blow a false note? (13)

DOWN

2 This episode is not in verse. (5)
3 If you are carried under this, you'll probably have to put something down. (11, 4)
4 Wild damson. (6)
5 A singular sort of 14 with French wine. (8)
6 Original producer of "La Gioconda." (8, 2, 5)
7 The little devil is broken in pieces! (9)
8 Relating to a man of learning, like Einstein, P. H. D.? (8)
9 See 22 across.
15 Particular tin cup, with the wrong grease on it. (9)
17 There was a famous last one before his, in a way, suggesting the need for a spokesman. (8)
18 S. O. S. of the dance? (4, 4)
21 and 12 across. The possible consequence of an inside pitch isn't safe! (3, 3, 3, 6)
22 Stretches out with cushions? (4)
24 "Death, the _____ smoke where vanishes the flame." (Childe Harold's Pilgrimage) (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 573

ACROSS:—1 MIDSHIPS; 5 PRIMED; 9 NIBBLER; 10 ORGANIC; 11 HOUDINI; 12 ENTITLE; 13 HIGHLAND FLING; 15 RADICAL CHANGE; 21 SAPIENT; 22 NEOCENE; 23 BANYANS; 24 ROISTER; 25 WADDLE; 26 ODOGRAPH.

DOWN:—1 MANCHU; 2 DEBOUCH; 3 HOLDING; 4 PARTIAL PLATES; 6 and 20 RIGHT OF SEARCH; 7 MENOTTI; 8 DUCK EGGS; 10 ONE IN A HUNDRED; 14 CROSSBOW; 16 DEPONED; 17 CUE BALL; 18 NOONING; 19 ELECTRA.

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THE *Nation's* CHOICE

NUMBER 4

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